

AN ANALYSIS OF A MINORITY GROUP JOB DEVELOPMENT
PROJECT SPONSORED BY THE CLEVELAND
URBAN LEAGUE OF CLEVELAND,
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Significance

Urban Leagues during World War II became involved in developing job opportunities for Negroes in war industries and subsequently when the war was over, in the absence of any kind of federal or state Fair Employment Practices Commission, it has seemed a justifiable program to continue.

During the orientation program for new staff persons at the Cleveland Urban League, where the writer was a student field worker, it was not readily apparent how community organization as a process of social work was being used in this agency. Major emphasis of the agency was given to industrial relations. The activities performed were largely those involving individual contacts.

By working with representatives of employers, employees, unions, civic, social welfare and other groups, the Industrial department secretary attempted to remove racial barriers in employment. Continued effort was made to secure cooperation and support which might widen areas for the employment of Negroes, based on their abilities to do a job rather than on racial factors.

According to the Personnel Practice Manual of the Agency¹

¹
Handbook on Personnel Practices and the Manual of Operations of the Cleveland Urban League, 1949 (unpublished).

major activities of the Industrial department were focused in the following areas of interest, namely; developing new job opportunities for qualified Negro workers, guiding Negro youths into vocations and professions consistent with individual aptitudes and abilities, screening job applicants and placing them in positions. Direct services such as testing, screening, and interviewing applicants were the responsibilities of the vocational guidance counsellor who performed these duties as a specialized service of the Industrial department.

In general it can be said that the Industrial department sought to integrate Negroes into all levels of employment including the professional categories as well as the unskilled and other job development classifications.

Many times, to reach an objective, the Industrial department found it expedient to concentrate efforts in a particular industry over an extended period. These long term endeavors were called job development projects.

Having read records of these job development projects sponsored by the League, the writer attempted to relate them to community organization as a social work process. It was concluded that an analysis of one such project would provide case material from which the methods employed might be analyzed in terms of the community organization principles utilized in social work. A job development project with Bakery drivers which was completed during the author's field work period was selected for study.

Purpose of Study

It was the purpose of this study to determine what principles of community organization were employed in this specific project; to evaluate activities used in relationship to principles and standards of community organization now known and accepted; to ascertain the extent to which these standards of community organization were compatible with the philosophy and program policies of the agency as revealed in this project; and to determine how effective the Industrial department employed community organization in its efforts to integrate workers into new jobs.

Scope and Limitations

The project was initiated in 1947 and completed in 1948. There were ten plants involved, one workers' union, a management association and the Cleveland Urban League. The project was specifically concerned with developing jobs for Negroes as driver salesmen in the bakery industry. The analysis was primarily an evaluation of the project in relation to the community organization process.

Limitations may be found in the absence of the background material or records on the initiation of the project for, it was felt that the actual conduct of the project was significant.

While this project was confined to bakery drivers, and may not have been representative of the integration of other

kinds of workers, the community organization process should have equal application.

The project described involved bringing together the members of the particular groups concerned which included the bakery managers, the union, the workers and the Cleveland Urban League and stimulating joint planning to meet and to solve the problems of accepting Negroes as driver-salesmen.

Method of Procedure

The bulk of the information used in this study was obtained from the records of the agency. Where supplementary data were necessary, they were secured from the people concerned, namely; staff of the League, union representatives, Bakery Managers Association, and Driver salesmen.

Materials were read and analyzed and presented in consideration of the theory and study of community organization. The author made use of books and pamphlets and made references to other studies of a similar nature.

Particular attention was given to the following theses: An Analysis of Social Work Techniques and Activities Employed by the St. Louis Urban League in a Selected Number of Projects with Industrial Workers. 1948, Homer Lester Benson, and Community Organization Techniques Used by Urban Leagues in Integrating Negroes in Industry. 1948, Thelma Wamble.

CHAPTER II

THE CLEVELAND URBAN LEAGUE

Brief History

The Cleveland Urban League was one of the fifty-eight affiliated branches of the National Urban League in 1949. Originally, in its articles of incorporation, it was known as the Negro Welfare Association. Organized as a result of a study by the Federation Committee on Urban Conditions among Negroes, its stated purpose was as follows:

To carry on social welfare in all its branches among the colored people of Cleveland and vicinity, to assist them and the community mutually to adjust their lives and activities to conform to the just and proper requirements of the democratic principles upon which our institutions are erected.¹

Specifically, the Negro Welfare Association was dedicated:

1. To help migrant Negroes adjust to new urban living conditions.
2. To serve as a clearing house for agencies in their welfare.
3. To furnish accurate information and expert advice on matters affecting this group.

In 1942, the name of the Negro Welfare Association was changed to Cleveland Urban League, accomplished by affiliating

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Report of Federation Committee on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, Cleveland, Ohio, 1917 (unpublished).

with the National Urban League. This affiliation resulted from the association subscribing to the philosophy of the National Urban League and agreeing to utilize the accepted methods of social work in implementing its purposes.¹

Function and Philosophy

The Cleveland Urban League had chosen as its major function, the removal of the racial factor in employment and subsequently, widening the Negro's employment opportunity. Continued effort was made to integrate Negroes into the mainstream of American life so that the best interests of the community might be served. Job integration for non-white persons was promoted through inter-racial planning and functioning. Periodic conferences were held with representatives of management, unions, civic and social groups in an effort to secure their support for integrating qualified Negro workers into job categories previously closed to them.

Major responsibilities for developing job opportunities for non-whites was the specific function of the industrial department, manned by a director, two field workers and a vocational guidance counselor.

Job integration as the Cleveland Urban League's primary function was based on the philosophy that the economic

¹
Ibid.

factor was considered basic to the Negro problem in the United States.¹ It was recognized by the League that no ethnic group including Negroes can be permitted to lag behind in health, housing, education or economic security without seriously menacing the standards of health, decency, and well being of the total community.

The industrial department was working continuously to secure the cooperation and support of both employer and employees in selected industries and unions, to achieve the inclusion of Negroes at all levels of employment. To this end, the conference method was used almost extensively.

In the vocational counselling and job placement section of the industrial department, job integration was implemented through: one, guiding Negro youths into vocations and professions for which they were best suited, thereby insuring trained people for new opportunities; two, by screening job applicants and placing them in positions previously closed to Negro personnel.

Job development and integration was implemented in the public education department through a continuing campaign of social education. Social education was designed to modify attitudes, and stimulate thinking which would result in a community conditioned to accept the idea of the Negro's

¹
Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma (New York, 1944), Vol. I, p. 208.

right to equal economic opportunity.

Throughout the implementation of the function of the Cleveland Urban League, the skills of social work were used. However, only in case of one method was claim laid to the direct use of a social work process, namely, community organization.

Work with unions.- Beyond its work with industry, the Cleveland Urban League rendered direct services to unions. These services were directed toward: one, the elimination of discriminating practices; two, the extension of membership to all according to skill; three, the development of sound educational programs to eliminate prejudice within union ranks; four, cooperation with unions on the matter of integrating Negroes into all categories of employment; and five, the urging of Negroes to take responsibility and share in the privileges of the unions.

The Urban League encouraged Negroes to join, to utilize the unions as a means of expression in order to share in its benefits namely, economic security. Attempts were made to show those unions which practiced discrimination and segregation that they were not, in fact, representative of the working man, and that they dissipated the strength and contributions which Negroes could make to unionism in general. As the bargaining agent for employees, unions were strategically located and important in widening the areas of employment for non-white workers. "Thus, in order to

maintain a program of job integration, Urban Leagues seemed to agree that one of their tasks was to break down union resistance."¹

Organizational Structure and Duties

There are no specific organizational plans which an affiliate of the National Urban League must follow. Organizational structure and size of staff are dependent on the budget allocation, size of the community and local peculiarities; these dictate number of staff persons and departments. (See chart page 50)

The Cleveland Urban League's policy making body was the board of directors. Individuals on the board came from labor, management, civic, and public affairs groups of the Cleveland community.

Board members in addition to making policies which governed the agency were members of standing committees and subcommittees organized to implement certain phases of the Urban League program.

The industrial committee was the most active of the Cleveland Urban League due to the special interest of the agency in job integration for minority groups.

Staff and duties.-- The Executive director was directly responsible to the board of directors and was responsible

¹
Op. cit., p. 9.

for the promotion, coordination and supervision of the overall program of the agency. He executed the directives and decisions of the board pertaining to administration, personnel, and programming; and he was responsible for planning, presentation and control of budget expenditures.¹

Directly responsible to the Executive Secretary was the Director of Industrial Relations who was responsible for planning, organizing and giving supervision to the department. His duties involved promotion and coordination of industrial relations activities including field service, vocational guidance, personnel relations, placement services, filing and keeping records.

Under the immediate supervision of the Director of Industrial Relations were two Industrial Field Secretaries who assisted in initiating, promoting and coordinating departmental activities. They established and maintained contacts with management and labor in an effort to break down employer and union resistance to the hiring of non-white workers. They were responsible for records of field contacts, industrial needs, labor resources, and statistical reports.

A vocational guidance counselor as a staff person of the Industrial Relations department was responsible to the

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Op. cit., p. 9.

Director of Industrial Relations and whose duties were to counsel, give vocational guidance and occupational information to individuals by assisting them to prepare for, choose, enter upon and progress in and adjust to occupational fields.¹

Serving as a receptionist, scoring tests, screening and directing counselees to counselor were duties of a staff person called the Interviewer Clerk, responsible to the Director of the Industrial Department. Other duties of the Interviewer Clerk included, by assignment, tabulating departmental statistics, doing general typing and special reports.

Confidential secretarial duties, including dictation, typewriting were performed by a secretary for industrial secretaries and vocational counselor. In addition, this secretary served as a receptionist for the Industrial department.²

The Public Education Secretary was directly responsible to the Executive and had specific duties in the area of public relations. These duties were :

Radio.- Wrote continuity, arranged for time on the air and prepared radio programs.

Publicity.- Acted as editor for major and minor pub-

¹
Ibid., pp. 10-11.

²
Ibid., p. 11.

lications of the League.

Promotional.- Organized promotional meetings of the League, and served as liason person between interracial community groups and the Urban League. As secretary of the Speakers Bureau the Secretary arranged speaking engagements for himself, staff and the Bureau.

Edited Urban League speeches and department reports.

An office manager performed diversified and highly confidential secretarial duties for the Executive Secretary. Received dictation, composed and typed letters for Executive Secretary, handled appointments and relieved Executive Secretary of routine functions; served as receptionist, switchboard operator, distributor of mail and was responsible for bulletin boards and office supplies. In addition the office manager served as bookkeeper, processed and distributed checks.

The agency custodian was responsible for general cleaning and minor building repairs.¹

¹
Ibid., p. 12.

CHAPTER III

REASONS FOR THE INITIATION OF BAKERY DRIVER PROJECT

Many factors in the Cleveland community contributed to the initiation of the bakery-driver project. Among these were the attitudes displayed by white workers of the bakery industry toward non-white workers and the general industrial situation, and certain cultural problems.

Industrial Situation

During 1947, the nation had reached its peacetime peak of 60,000,000 jobs in July of that year. In Cleveland, however, employment was off twenty-one per cent as revealed by the Ohio State Employment Service Survey of two-hundred largest employers in the city during July. This situation was partly due to shut downs for vacations and inventories. However, the primary reason was simply that the postwar boom period was gradually declining into a more normal pattern.

In the main, non-white workers had been affected during reconversion, principally by qualitative losses or down grading. The decline shown in July, however, appears to have affected the quantity of jobs available to non-white workers disproportionately.¹

¹ Annual Industrial Report, Cleveland Urban League, 1947, (unpublished).

In general, the attitudes of industry toward the employment of non-white persons was changing slowly. Only a few industries objected to the hiring of Negroes as laborers and maintenance personnel. However, a great many industries excluded Negroes or non-whites almost entirely from employment in the skilled, clerical, professional, and managerial job categories. The exceptions were primarily in industries in which large gains had been made during the war. Here they received the protection of seniority and the security of their jobs if they were union members. Elsewhere, during this retrenchment period and reconversion period, they were the first fired as they had been the last hired.¹

Political and Social Factors

There were certain forces and pressures at work in the community which were creating a climate favorable to accepting the integration of non-whites and other minority groups into the mainstream of the community and industry. Likewise there was a great deal of growing pressure on the part of minority groups, new veterans' groups, and others for complete integration.²

Across the world, sentiment was developing the idea of a

¹
Ibid.

²
Interview with Industrial Secretary, October 7, 1949.

world movement toward world brotherhood. The United Nations was a stimulant to the development of good intercultural, intergroup, and race relations. Nationally, this stimulant was felt and an upsurge of democratic goodwill and self-examination took place. Cleveland, with its diverse minority group population and history of developing positive intercultural, intergroup relations, was especially sensitive to this stimulus.

Nationally, the Civil Rights issue had once more become the focal point for integration pressures. The President's issuance of Executive Order 8802 during the war had convinced some people of the necessity for a permanent legislative fair employment ordinance. The fight for such legislation was taking place in Congress; at the state and local levels, groups were clamoring for, and in a few instances getting, fair employment legislation. These same urgings were being experienced in Cleveland. Fair practice in employment was beginning to be one of the primary topics of conversation, not only for politicians, but also in public affairs groups and barber shops, as well.

In addition, several events had occurred sufficiently recent in Cleveland leaving their impacts which had not been forgot. Chief among these had been the social action program directed by the Future Outlook League to develop jobs for Negroes as driver-salesmen in the dairy industry. The Future Outlook League was an organization concerned with

opening new job opportunities for Negro workers. By paying a fee, an individual became a member of the Future Outlook League and was privileged to have this organization intercede in his behalf for securing employment. In addition to the individual service for a member, the Future Outlook League attempted to open employment areas for Negroes in general. The impact of this organization had implications for the whole of the Cleveland community.

The methods used by the Future Outlook League were mass boycotting and picketing of stores and industries in Negro areas which did not employ non-whites. In the case of the dairy industry, violence of a sort was resorted to when other methods seemed to fail. Milk trucks were overturned and bottles of milk smashed. These overt acts convinced the dairies of the necessity for hiring Negro driver-salesmen. Moreover, it indicated that non-whites wanted a share in the economic prosperity they had helped create.

A further result was the awareness on the part of Negroes of their exclusions from employment in other industries in Cleveland - among them was the bakery industry.

Early efforts to initiate the bakery-driver project had been encouraged by several citizen groups in Cleveland's Central Areas who had become interested in the failure of the Bakery Industry to employ Negro driver-salesmen. These groups and individuals expressed their interest to different organizations which were a part of the minority group protest

movement. Some carried the problem to the Future Outlook League, or to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; others sought out the Urban League. For almost two years, no planned campaign was ventured by any of these organizations.

During the fall of 1947, the Urban League had recently been visited by several individuals concerned with this question. As a result, it had undertaken some preliminary fact-finding and investigation. In so doing, the League discovered several things. One, that the sporadic flashes of interest in this problem on the part of the Future Outlook League and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People had not resolved the problem. Two, that management in the bakery industry was anxious to avoid conflict with the Future Outlook League of the same nature that the dairy industry experienced. Three, that management regarded the Urban League as an agency employing peaceful methods, and therefore, a reputable one which would not harm the bakery business. Four, that the community which was interested in the question included Negro men who were already employed by the bakeries below their job qualifications.

With information gathered which revealed the setting and community interest, the Urban League decided to plan an organized project to develop job opportunities for Negro driver-salesmen in the bakery industry. The industrial department of the Urban League became immediately concerned,

realizing that it could now move freely without superimposing its program on the community. Due to community reaction, the Urban League could be assured of cooperation from certain factions which would be in accord with the project.

The Urban League's decision to focus attention on the bakery drivers industry as a special project was influenced by a number of factors. In addition to being the type of project with which the industrial relations department would normally be concerned, the Urban League's interest and participation was encouraged considerably by various other reasons.

On the administrative level, the Executive Director had been engaged in a similar project in another League city prior to his coming to Cleveland, and felt that his previous experiences in this type of project would be an asset for dealing with the bakery-driver situation. Moreover, having been in Cleveland for only a short time (one year), he was still gaining an appreciation and understanding of the community. On the basis of his experiences, it seemed that a project such as the bakery drivers would be easily recognized and less difficult to define in terms of agency program.¹

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Interview with Arnold B. Walker, Executive Secretary, Cleveland Urban League, October 13, 1949.

On the staff level, the industrial department head had observed sporadic attempts in the community to grapple with the situation. Until now, the Future Outlook League, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and the Urban League all had been interested in the problem, but had done little in the way of isolating the problem as a special project, that is, setting up organizational machinery to follow through in any systematized manner.

Finally, the familiarity of the industrial department director with developments leading up to the project and his interest, cemented the concern of other staff members for said project. Through staff conferences, certain members of the staff were given responsibilities to pursue specific phases of the project in accord with their special interests, skills and intimate knowledge of particular situations involved.

Conditioned by the facts that the Industrial Director had been closer to the situation than anyone else, and because of his knowledge of the situation, major responsibility for initiation was accorded him. Other staff members were given assignments with lesser responsibility - primarily because they had other projects in their own areas of interests and skills. Various methods were used by the industrial secretaries to solve the problem of integration for Negro driver- salesmen.

CHAPTER IV

URBAN LEAGUE METHODS EMPLOYED WITH MANAGEMENT

The initial step in the project was that of making contacts with the management in ten selected bakeries in the community. Each manager of the ten bakeries was contacted individually by appointment. In four of these bakeries, industrial secretaries were not successful in securing an appointment.

The bakeries chosen were those selling to a large number of Negroes, particularly those Negroes in the "Central Areas".

"Central Areas" was the name used to describe a section in metropolitan Cleveland bounded on the north by Euclid Avenue, on the south by New York Central railroad, on the east by 105th Street and Woodhill, on the west by east 18th, 21st, and 34th streets respectively.

The approximate center of "Central Areas" was located at East 55th street and Quincy Avenue. Running from west to east through central areas was Cedar, Central, Scovill, Quincy, and Woodland Avenues.¹

The large number of working people who lived in this area were consistently the largest consumers of bread and hence, served as the most profitable market in the community

¹ Brochure, Central Areas Community Council, Cleveland, Ohio. (n.d.).

for the bakery industry. This area, likewise, constituted choice routes for driver-salesmen since they were given increased remuneration in accord with the volume of business on their specific routes.

In their initial contacts with management, field secretaries had used the interviewing method with each of the employers involved. This activity was called the field contact.

Information, such as number of employees in the plant, number of Negroes, method of hiring new workers, was sought from the managers. Urban League secretaries had no way of verifying the facts secured, except through contacts with individual workers in bakery industry and from persons of the local union which bargained for driver-salesmen.

Each manager was made fully aware of the Urban League's position as the liason agency between the interested factions in the community and the bakery industry. The point was stressed that the establishment of democratic hiring policies by the bakery companies would not only result in good patronage, but would also minimize racial friction, and build good will for the bakery industry in the Cleveland community. In addition, the Urban League, by successfully negotiating with management, would discourage militant factions in the community, which at times, were openly hostile to undemocratic hiring policies, and who, by their methods and tactics intensified racial feelings in the com-

munity.

The interview method used with individual managers involved a two fold approach - a moral approach and an intellectual approach namely, the right of every citizen to work at any job to which he is entitled based on his ability to perform and, that job integration would maintain good patronage and good will on the part of the community for the bakery industry. Management was reminded further that the need to re-examine its hiring policies was even more emphatic since it reaped its highest profits from the areas where non-white consumers lived.¹

Resistance Faced

Opinions registered by management as contained in agency records varied from cordial acceptance of the idea of integration to open hostility to the idea. Management in general had recognized the necessity of changing hiring practices due to increasing community pressures but had been inclined to delay integration plans until such time as no other choice would seem advisable.

The bakery employers' usually referred to as the Bakery Management Association was not a business organization in the strictest sense. There was no constitution or

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Interview with Shelton B. Granger, Field Secretary, Cleveland Urban League, October 28, 1949.

by-laws, which explained its reason for being or outlined its policies. Several of the bakeries were members of national bakery chains, and at times when their operational policies had been affected by national jurisdiction, found it necessary to meet and share ideas and opinions which might have mutual value for local operation. In time, management from private local bakery concerns had joined with the original group for similar benefits. Prior to the project, meetings were informal, both on business and social levels.

The initial contacts with management by Urban League workers, apparently gave impetus to the organization of the managers' group in regards to impending action which the community, through the Urban League had expressed. The Urban League had in the beginning of the project, contacted management in the bakeries selected, on an individual basis. It seemed that several persons representing management had, since their first conferences with League workers, been alerting other management personnel to the significance of sharing views in regards to bakery-driver hiring policies.

During contacts, the Urban League had found one individual among management who had assumed leadership for bakery employers and was frequently posing as the voice of the management. In conferences with union, representatives of same, had observed the role of this person who, apparently had been tacitly approved if not officially delegated by management to speak for employers at times when he deemed

such expedient.

The particular employer in question was the owner of a private bakery business located in the "Central Areas" perhaps, doing a larger volume of business than any other bakery in the community. His assumed leadership for all management involved might have been influenced by several factors which increased his sense of responsibility for the situation: (1) His long acquaintance with Negroes in his particular setting encouraged him to speak with authority on the subject of "dealing with Negroes"; (2) The volume of business which he realized in profits could be seriously threatened by refusal of non-white consumers to buy where they were not allowed to work; (3) His bakery, being a local concern could hardly hope to compete favorably in other sections of the community with many of the national chains who operated over larger areas.

An apparent desire on the part of management to handle the situation as expertly as possible allowed employers to give tacit credence to the position of this particular employer, which in turn, had stimulated his confidence. The support given to Mr.M.B. by management as its spokesman was further revealed by his sudden rise to a position of status which prior to project had not been apparent. In conferences with Urban League and union personnel, questions directed to other individuals were frequently referred to Mr. M.B.. Planning of the Urban League's approach to management had

to be done with an appreciation for and an awareness of Mr. M.B.

Considering the position of the president of the Bakery Managers Association as well as its contacts already established with other respective managers of the bakery industry, the Urban League had recognized that management would not readily respond to an integrated hiring policy. The chief two reasons being, one, the reluctance with which white drivers would give up their routes in the heavily populated Negro area (the more profitable routes) two, the negative attitude with which the management responded to the idea of placing Negro salesmen in white populated areas. Interviewing respective managers, field secretaries discovered that it was felt by management that white clientele would not accept Negro salesmen. It was the general feeling that the presence of Negro salesmen would threaten bakery sales and stimulate ill-feeling in the community for the bakery industry and intensify racial misunderstanding. In its initial relations with management, the Urban League had hoped to educate management beyond this point of view by pointing out specific examples where integration was working to the advantage of both employer and employee alike. While integration itself had been difficult to encourage on the part of the employers, the question of re-arranging routes to include prospective non-white drivers created even more of a problem for interpretation. "Route-bidding" on the basis of seniority

had resulted in the choicest routes in Negro areas being held by eligible white drivers. These drivers were likely to oppose their being unseated by Negroes whom employers felt might best be integrated on routes having nearly all Negro consumers.

On consulting another agency in a distant city which had worked on opening driver-salesmen jobs, the director of industrial relations received a letter which reflected the precarious position of management in resisting the integration of non-whites.

With reference to your inquiry regarding the employment of Negro driver salesmen in Chicago, the following brief statement can be made. For more than a year the Negro Labor Relations League of Chicago had spearheaded a fight to secure these jobs for Negro drivers. After having failed in their negotiating procedures, they resorted to boycotting the sale of their products to Negro areas. Incidentally, the Negro market is a veritable gold mine. Again negotiations were resumed after the bakeries failed to give on the boycott. The committee on Racial Equality joined in with the Labor Relations League and staged a series of picketing scenes around the bakery firms and within one or two instances, made use of sound trucks which circulated throughout the Negro area. This, however was stopped by police because no permit had been granted. Apparently, the companies felt that they would be in for a long and bitter fight because of the determination of these organizations, and because some effect was being felt through the failure of some of the merchants operating in Negro neighborhoods to continue the purchase of their products. During the early summer of this year, relaxation was secured and three bakery firms now use about five Negro driver-salesmen each. This means we have a total of about fifteen or perhaps slightly more by this time. As far as we know their routes are predominantly in Negro areas.¹

¹Letter from Director (Negro Labor Relations League, Chicago, Illinois, December 3, 1948.

In its preliminary fact-finding and investigation, the Urban League discovered that management frequently recruited new employees from the local union, and that management had placed certain responsibilities on the union for the bakery industry's hiring practices.

The union contract (Article I) stipulated that the employer will make a reasonable attempt to secure workers through the union.¹

Management indicated concern of community pressures which had expressed interest in the hiring policies of bakery companies. However, employers had not made any commitments on probable action they would take to solve the problem.

How Urban League Handled Resistance

In an effort to increase its effectiveness with bakery managers the Urban League began to work through the local union and through one board member in particular.

This board member, Mr. L.C. had been in the bakery business himself and had a relationship with management that was to prove valuable to the Urban League. On the use of a board member in the community, Clarence King has said:

If he is truly representative of an important

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Agency records on the bakery Drivers' Project (unpublished).

segment of the community, he will interpret to the professional staff the attitudes and needs of his part of the community. And conversely he will interpret the work of that staff to his "constituency" and act in securing their sponsorship and support. To serve in this capacity he must be closely in touch with the work, so that he understands it, while still remaining his representative capacity in the community. He must be a little ahead of the majority of citizens but not too far that he loses touch with them.¹

Mr. L.C. was influential in business circles in the community as well as in civic and social groups. Especially was he influential in the Negro community where the bakeries depended for the bulk of their trades.

Reports indicated that unfair competition on the part of white competitors in the community, had forced Mr. L.C. out of the bakery business. He had established a meat distributing business and had attained economic independence.

Management was familiar with the Urban League approach and could understand that a person respected as much in the community as Mr. L.C. could organize groups that would support a mass demonstration in defiance of unfair hiring practices followed by the bakery companies. Such a demonstration was likely if Urban League and management failed in their attempts to reach desirable goals. In choosing to work with the Urban League, management had accepted what appeared to be of lesser consequences.

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Clarence King, Organization for Community Action (New York, 1948), p. 21.

When contacts were first arranged with management, Urban League industrial secretaries had likewise begun to confer with the Local Union 52 which was the bargaining machinery for driver-salesmen in the Cleveland community.

From the beginning of the project, Urban League workers had wanted to know if there were any union provisions which officially prevented Negro driver-salesmen from being hired by the bakery companies and becoming members of the union.

An official spokesman of the union took the position that while the union did not officially prohibit Negroes from becoming union members, the union was not in the position to take any initiative in efforts to secure employment for Negro driver-salesmen, but would cooperate in any way possible. The union agreed to receive applications for work from qualified non-white workers, refer them to employers and take them into the union per regular procedure after they were employed.

Following the first official statement from the local union, the Industrial Relations director made contacts with the International office of the union through the National Urban League on the question of the integration of non-white members into its union.¹ It was confirmed by the

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Letter to Director of Industrial Relations, National Urban League, October 18, 1948.

International office that there were no official restrictions in the Constitution to prohibit the acceptance of Negroes into its membership.¹

Assurance by the union of its acceptance of non-white members on equal bases made the Urban League's approach more positive. Management once assured of the union's position, could assert itself without expecting to create misunderstanding between itself and the union.

The position of the union and the role of Mr. L.C. as board member coupled with pressures in the community for the hiring of Negro driver-salesmen, seemed to have been major factors in breaking down management's resistance to changes in hiring practices.

¹

Letter from President of International Union of Teamsters, October 25, 1948.

CHAPTER V

URBAN LEAGUE METHODS EMPLOYED WITH UNION

During initial stages of the project, industrial secretaries of the League conferred with union officials and discovered that no official provisions, either on the international or local level, prevented non-whites from becoming union members and being hired by employers from union ranks. The local union, at the start of the project, was apparently willing to cooperate with the Urban League in opening doors to Negro driver-salesmen. There were several factors which influenced the position which the union took.

The role of the business agent of the union and his civic and political interests were especially significant. The industrial department director had met the business manager under previous circumstances and had developed a friendly relationship with him prior to the project. As a result, it was easy for them to discuss the bakery-driver project and the part which the union could play in implementing plans.

At the time of initiation of the bakery-driver project, the business agent was running for city council in the ward where the industrial relations director resided. The business manager's interest in the organization of an area council for his ward and his pro-labor political views had motivated him to encourage union support for the Urban League point of view prior to the League's expressed interest in the bakery-driver project. It seemed, then, that the union,

as a result of the business manager's influence, was predisposed to cooperate with the plan, the chief concern being how to cope with the situation, rather than to accept or reject the League's proposal.¹

The cooperation expressed by the local union caused the Urban League to consider how it could encourage union officials to confer with management in an effort to bring employers to a point of view conducive to establishing job integration practices. By working through the union, Urban League secretaries were able to follow the reactions of management and indirectly influence the development of the project.

Periodic conferences with union representatives revealed that meetings of the Bakery Manager's Association had increased as a result of developments between the Urban League and the union. On several occasions, the Bakery Managers' Association had allowed union officials to attend its meetings. In an effort to keep the Urban League aware of the union's position and of developments which could affect its position, the union had kept the Urban League abreast of management's thinking on the question of integration.

Combined Union-Management Meetings

The combined meetings of union and management enabled Urban League workers to follow the developments of the pro-

¹

Interview with Shelton B. Granger, Field Industrial Secretary, Cleveland Urban League, November 2, 1949.

ject as reflected by the reaction of management over a period of time. The results of these meetings were shared with field industrial secretaries by union representatives who had indicated a willingness to accept Negro driver-salesmen into the union as fellow workers.

In the first meeting of the Bakery Managers' Association attended by union representatives, the following points were reviewed as disclosed by union representatives in a conference with Urban League personnel.

1. The question of Negro driver-salesmen was discussed.
2. Four out of eleven principal companies registered strong reaction to the idea of employing Negro driver-salesmen.
3. All companies felt that the employment of Negroes as driver-salesmen was necessarily coming. However, they planned to stall it off for as long as possible.
4. One baking company's local manager had been advised by national headquarters of his company to use his own judgement. The manager was reported to be a bit worried.
5. Mr. M.B. of the Bakery Managers' Association seemed fairly objective in his thinking, but would have little influence with the Bakery Managers.
6. Some great concern was shown over the routes in the Central Area (best paying routes and having a heavy concentration of Negro consumers). These were routes which incumbent drivers would least desire to relinquish.

7. Union officials promised to recommend to their Executive Board and membership, that seniority and route bidding regulations be modified so that Negroes could be placed in the Central Area.¹

The Urban League planned to watch this procedure and influence its development as far as possible so that permanent handicap to Negro workers would not result. The Urban League had purposely refrained from discussing the area in which Negro drivers should be placed, either with the union or with management. The League's first objective was to open the occupation to Negroes in the city.

With a knowledge of management's reaction as revealed by union representatives, the Urban League made known to the union its thinking on the question which suggested the procedure to be followed in reaching desired ends.

1. Consideration and action on the matter by Bakery Managers' Club.

2. Consideration and action by the union to implement plans consistent with its policy.

3. Follow-up contacts by the Urban League with the separate firms and the union, respectively.²

The Urban League was continuing to encourage the union

¹
Agency files on Bakery-driver Project, Cleveland Urban League, October 29, 1948.

²
Agency records on Bakery-driver Project (Unpublished).

to use its influence with management. As meetings of Bakery Managers and union representatives were continued, the results were shared with Industrial secretaries by union officials and entered in the record of the project development.

1. Proposed by Bakery managers in meeting with union representatives:

The managers decided on a date and plans to be made for the respective companies involved to replace white drivers in the Central Area with Negro drivers. In keeping with this plan which would ghetto-ize the employment of Negroes, the managers also decided to split routes that overlapped or extended beyond the boundaries of Central Area.

The union does not favor this plan and we concur for the following reasons:

a. It follows the pattern of segregation and will tend to limit employment of Negro drivers to this area in the future.

b. It will cause immediate displacement of a number of white driver-salesmen who have held routes in this area for years. The complications and resistance possible with this type of arrangement is evident.

c. Non-white drivers would automatically be placed without having had an opportunity to secure experience that would help to insure the success of the intergration plan.

d. This plan diametrically conflicts with the union route bidding and seniority agreement regulations.

2. Plan proposed by union:

The plan that was suggested by the union was that whereby Negro driver-salesmen would be taken in a normal process as openings develop.

a. Negro extra men or trainees would be placed immediately. These men would work on routes with the white driver-salesmen and would be placed as regular driver-salesmen as fast as openings developed (assurance was given to the fact that openings would develop

in a short length of time)¹

As a result of the influences from the union, Mr. L.C. of the Urban League Board, and other community pressures, management was showing signs of lessening resistance.

Having discussed the situation thoroughly with union representatives on several occasions during the project, industrial secretaries were reasonably sure that the union and Urban League points of view would lend themselves favorably for the integration of non-white union members and driver-salesmen.

The union officials had previously suggested a joint meeting of managers, union, and Urban League workers. The Urban League had reacted positively to this suggestion, but felt that management, after having talked with Urban League secretaries on frequent occasions, was familiar enough with the Urban League's point of view as well as that of the union involved; hence, a joint meeting of the three groups was less important.²

However, having worked through the union, the relationship between the Urban League and management was thought to be less strained. Hence, the Urban League reconsidered the suggested joint meeting by the union. A contract with

¹
Ibid.

²
Confidential Report, C.E. Minton, Director of Industrial Relations, Cleveland Urban League, October 15, 1947.

managers concerning the joint meeting confirmed their interest and the meeting was held.

The joint meeting of union, management, and the Urban League may be considered the most important activity in the Bakery Driver project. From this joint conference, the framework for integration plans were established and compromises reached between the groups which were reflected in the results of the job development project.

By using the union as a liason between the Urban League and management, the Industrial Director was able to establish a relationship between the three groups which apparently facilitated consummation of job integration plans.

Results

The results of the Bakery Driver project which grew out of the joint conference, reflected the areas of major concern both by management and union. Matters of seniority regulations, route-bidding, and management's desire to place the first Negro salesmen in areas predominantly populated by Negroes were evident. Similar concerns were noted in other job integration projects:

Driver-salesmen jobs revolve around the fact that inasmuch as the routes in the highly congested Negro districts produce more revenue, they are the most desirable. The union members with the greatest seniority usually hold these routes and naturally are reluctant about giving them up. Then too, this means a direct attack upon the seniority rule.

In Chicago, neither side would give ground, the union had to uphold seniority, and the pressure groups insisted on Negro drivers (the facts are that in spite

of all the window dressing, it really boiled down to Negro drivers in Negro neighborhoods). After several fruitless conferences and constant pressure, the union gave ground,¹ and Negroes were given routes in their own communities.

After a period of approximately two and one-half months following an agreement between union, management and the Urban League, five bakery companies of the ten selected for the project reported having employed seven Negro driver-salesmen. All of these newly hired salesmen had routes in predominantly Negro areas.

Bakery routes had been re-routed as a compromise with white driver-salesmen who had been reluctant to give up the more lucrative routes in the Negro community. There was evidence of some overlapping in those areas heavily populated by Negroes. White drivers with seniority had been given routes to include partial segments of the more profitable Negro sections. Several of these routes operated by white salesmen interspersed with those of laboring whites who likewise composed a profitable bakery market. This arrangement prevented senior employees from losing the better paying routes.

1

Letter to Director of Industrial Relations from Director of Labor Relations League, Chicago, Illinois, November 27, 1947.

CHAPTER VI

THE RELATIONSHIP OF JOB DEVELOPMENT PROCEDURE TO THE COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION PROCESS

The Community Organization Process

During the last few years sociologists and students of the social sciences have been concerned with and have attempted to identify by definition or descriptions, Community Organization. Some have based their definitions on the history of society and its organization. Others have predicated their identification on the idea of structural intergroup relationships. Still others combine both of these in their definition.

Among the last group are those whose definitions are based upon three approaches. On the one hand is the definition which is approached from the point of view of goals. The second is approached by describing the process in reaching goals. The third approach considers both of these.

In discussing community organization, McMillen has said:

Community organization will continue to be used to describe the process of helping people to relate themselves to the group quest for social integration.

He expands this further by stating:

...it is clear that most individuals experience repeated frustrations if they attempt single-handed to attack environmental factors which they believe to be inimical to the general welfare. Moreover, the desire to work cooperatively with others is a well-marked human trait. The community organization process recognizes both of these facts first, by encouraging cooperative effort, and second by orienting these efforts

toward objectives related to the common welfare.¹

The professional component of the community organization process in social work is twofold. The social worker is concerned: (1) to stimulate people to use their powers for the cooperative improvement of group life, and, (2) to assist in the development of the process by supplying the technical services required.²

Kenneth Pray talked of community organization in terms of adjustment, relationship and the worker. Namely, the worker's capacity to initiate and to sustain a direct helping relationship with individual people and groups of people.

Its true objective is in facilitating the process of adjustment. Its only concern with social organization as such, is to introduce and sustain through that organization the relationships and processes which actually do facilitate the adjustment.³

While McMillen and Pray seem to be saying essentially the same thing, actually there is a basic point at which their views are divergent. McMillen placed the emphasis on the process by which individuals and groups relate themselves to goals. Pray on the other hand stressed the relationship between people individually, groups of people, and the resultant effect upon goals.

There is general agreement that community organization

1

Wayne McMillen, Community Organization For Social Welfare (Chicago, Illinois, 1945) p. 22.

2

Ibid., p. 22.

3

Kenneth Pray, "When is Community Organization Social Work Practice," Proceedings of National Conference of Social Work (San Francisco, California 1947), p. 196.

is a process. In general, it is that process through which man, in a democratic society, meets his needs be they religious, political, social, economic or otherwise on a community level by bringing societies' resources to bear on human problems. As a process in social work, community organization must be at the outset and ultimately concerned with relationships. The process involves the conscious relating of persons, groups and the intangible but none the less real forces and pressures which are a part of every community. This relating and enabling is done most often to bring social work resources to bear on social work needs. The process also involves constant evaluation of the goals, immediate and long-range, and the manner in which they are to be reached.

The community organization process must also involve a worker who has the basic enabling role. It involves a worker with a sound concept of democracy, and a conviction as to the human worth of every individual. He must have at his command a knowledge of the other two methods in social work, case work and group work. He must likewise be well equipped with certain skills essential to his work. Those personal qualities deemed valid by Clarence King include an ability to plan, social work training, tact, and enthusiasm.¹

¹
Op. cit., p. 84.

Community Organization Methods Used in the
Bakery Drivers Project

In the job development project for driver-salesmen, the industrial secretaries made use of specific methods which can be isolated and identified as aspects or phases of the community organization process.

Among the twelve methods listed by McMillen which he maintains identifies the community organization process, the following methods or activities seemed evident in the job development project to a lesser or larger extent: 1. Planning, 2. Survey, 3. Education, interpretation, and public relations, 4. Group discussion or the conference process.¹

Before the Urban League selected the bakery driver salesmen project it was necessary for the industrial staff to become advised as to the situation with respect to the attitudes of management, union and the community at large. As Sanderson has said:

...the first step in an intelligent solution to any social problem is to get a common definition of the situation or to agree on the facts, for, as Park and Burgess have shown, a redefinition of the situation may change the character of the action.²

¹
Op. cit., p. 42.

²
Dwight Sanderson, Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization (New York, 1942), p. 665.

As a result of making field visits to ten selected bakeries and conferring with management, the industrial department of the League established in record form the attitudes, opinions, and reactions of management with reference to the use of qualified Negro driver-salesmen. Information such as total number of employees, number of employees by race, upgrading procedures, seniority stipulations, worker recruitment, wages, and job qualifications was obtained.

As the initial step for opening new job opportunities, another Urban League has observed that contacts with top management was an important first move for the purpose of "defining the situation".

Our first steps were directed toward casual contacts with the personnel director of several of the larger stores in an effort to educate and interpret to them our public relations work so as to leave no doubts as to the community acceptance and recognition of the Urban League.¹

The initial contacts as used by the Cleveland Urban League in the development of the baker-driver project indicated a two-fold purpose; one, fact finding, two, education and interpretation which influenced future planning.

Facts were secured from the following sources: employers,

¹
Saint Paul Urban League, "An Urban League Method of Opening Employment in Retail Stores to Negro Citizens," March 1, 1948.

employees, union, agency clientele and from other agencies in the community. As compared to the social survey this activity seemed to have served the industrial department's purpose in a similar way.

A social survey is a study generally a cooperative undertaking which has social implications and significance-- of current foci of social infection, of pathological conditions. having definite geographical limits and bearings, for the purpose of presenting a constructive program for social advance arrived at by measuring social conditions and comparing standards with an existing unit which has been accepted as a model toward which to strive.

The conference process or method was used extensively by the industrial department in the bakery-driver project and recognized as its chief approach to the problem of job discrimination. On the subject of voluntary education and moral persuasion an industrial department bulletin has stated that moral persuasion is:

The ideal, most desirable and most used method. It is employed by the Urban League and many other voluntary and governmental agencies. It is an essential factor in the process.²

One joint meeting of representatives from management, union and the Urban League was held during the project. Periodic conferences were held with individual employers and union representatives during the course of the project.

¹
Pauline V. Young, Scientific Social Surveys and Research (New York, 1939), p. 56.

²
The Urban League of Cleveland, "Industrial Department Bulletin."

Continuous interpretation of Urban League function and purpose was addressed to management and union in particular during the development of the project. A conference with potential driver-salesmen was held when integration plans had been consummated. One news release was published during the last stages of project development.

No new groups were organized by the Cleveland Urban League for the purpose of the driver-salesmen project. Progress reports were made to the industrial committee of the board. One board member, because of former connection with the bakery industry was used as "key" person for negotiating with management. Here may be noted Tray's emphasis on relationship in Community Organization achievements.

At the close of the project the industrial department continued with management, employees and the union many activities which were engaged in at the initiation of the project.

The program of job integration has been maintained through many of the same devices used for initiating the program. Some agencies have maintained their program of job integration through: (1) follow up on placements, (2) through conferences with employers, labor and employees, (3) by field visitations, (4) by guidance and counselling of young people entering industry for the first time.¹

1

Thelma Wamble- "Community Organization Techniques Used By Urban Leagues in Integrating Negroes Into Industry" (Unpublished Master's Thesis, School of Social Work, Atlanta University, 1948) p. 43.

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The authors' major concern in the study of the bakery driver project was to discover what methods utilized by the Urban League in this specific project could be classified as the community organization process employed in social work. A second area of concern for the writer was to discover to what extent job development procedure in the bakery driver project was compatible with the philosophy and program policies of the Cleveland Urban League as revealed in this specific project; a lesser concern of the writer was to determine from an analysis of the project, the effectiveness of methods employed by the agency in its efforts to integrate Negro driver-salesmen into the bakery industry.

An analysis of the bakery driver project seemed to justify the following conclusions:

1. The bakery driver project demonstrated the Cleveland Urban Leagues' primary concern, namely, the removal of barriers in employment for qualified Negro workers, based on the philosophy that the lack of economic opportunity for minority groups constituted a serious threat to the democratic way of life.
2. The Board and Industrial Committee of the Urban League facilitated the activities through the Industrial Department.
3. The initiation of and participation in the bakery

driver project by the Urban League was opportunistic in that the readiness on the part of the community had been well demonstrated by other community pressures and forces.

The social action program directed by the Future Outlook League to develop jobs for Negroes, as well as the interest manifested by the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People influenced the Urban League's participation in the project.

4. The familiarity of the Executive Secretary with a similar project, and the special concern and intimate knowledge of the local situation by the industrial relations director, were major influences in the selection of the bakery driver project by the Urban League.

5. In opening jobs for qualified workers as driver salesmen, the industrial secretaries of the Cleveland Urban League had the major responsibilities of negotiating with union and management. Continued contact with employers and union officials by the industrial staff involved constant interpretation of Urban League philosophy, and the developing of intelligent understanding of the lack of economic opportunity of non-white workers which affected the total community.

6. The skill of interviewing employed by secretaries in field contacts with management and union was a major skill utilized in the project.

7. The joint meeting of management, union, and Urban

League workers allowed secretaries to utilize the discussion or conference method which was the most decisive activity leading to consummation of job integration plans.

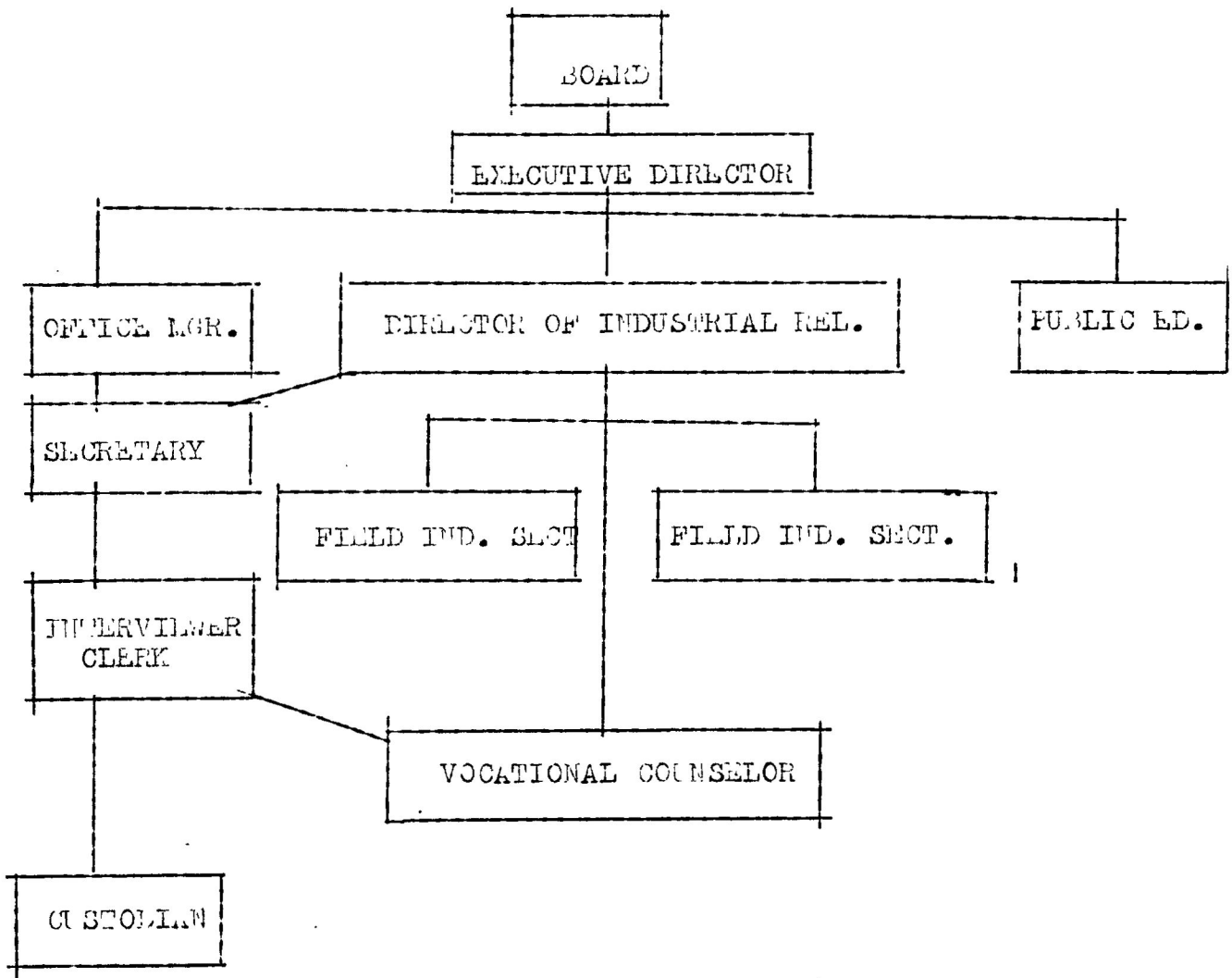
8. The use of community leaders in breaking down managements' resistance was evident as observed in the direct participation of one particular board member and one union official.

9. Community organization activities such as fact-finding, planning, interpretation, group discussion or the conference process, and many aspects of public relations were observed in the bakery driver project.

10. Finally, long range goals - namely, educational values, the development of democratic attitudes on the part of management, and the lack of complete integration of Negro workers into the bakery-driver salesmen occupation, presented to the Urban League the problem of continued education addressed to labor, and management.

APPENDIX

ORGANIZATION CHART



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